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Republican Party.

Circular of the national committee.  
1856.

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## PHILADELPHIA NATIONAL CONVENTION.

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### Circular of the National Committee,

Appointed at Pittsburg on the 22d of February, 1856.

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We solicit your attention to the call which has preceded this paper. It is not only to recommend to the people the immediate selection of delegates from the several states equal in number to three times the representation in Congress, to which each state is entitled, to meet on the 17th June, at Philadelphia, to present such individuals as they may think best suited to uphold the cause to which they are devoted as candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency, but also to invite the members of all parties who feel it to be the dominant issue which should control the election, to meet at the same time and place to confer with the convention as to the best course to crown their common wishes with success. One of the parties which will be represented at Philadelphia has taken the name of Republican, because it was given to that founded by Mr. Jefferson, to embrace all who love the Republic. There is no democrat who does not love the Republic. There is no whig who does not love the Republic. There is no American who does not love the Republic. And we fondly hope there is no naturalized citizen who does not love the Republic.

But it is not so important that the great movement which we desire to see successfully inaugurated shall be designated by any particular name, as that it shall be strong, united and effective. Why may not all these classes who are hostile to the introduction of slavery into free territory, unite at this crisis of impending danger, to vote for a common ticket, which will be nominated to assert the grand principle of repressing the extension of slaveholding monopoly, and to vindicate the rights of the people in all sections of the Union who labor with their own hands; a ticket which will not agitate with a view to detract from the rights of the states to dispose of the subject within their limits, according to their sovereign will? Yet hold its influence to destroy the freedom of white laborers a fit subject of investigation, with a view to repress the aggressive power in every constitutional way.

The rights of the laboring class involved in this question have been betrayed by the representatives from the North and South in the interest of the slaveholders, who have voted to surrender the lands to slave labor, which were set apart to make freeholders and enrich the working men of both sections who own no slaves, who should emigrate to them, cultivate and improve them with their own toil. Here are two great principles, blended in this cause, the one impelling the vindication of the rights of free labor—the other the chastisement of those misguided representatives who have violated the faith pledged between the two sections of the Union to each other in their compact, and their own faith as re-

representatives in misrepresenting the will of their constituents in the repealing acts and disobeying their instructions in reference to them.

Can there be any difficulty in uniting the men of all parties, who concur in the great design of delivering the masses from the oppressions of the slaveholders in the new territories?—and the fair, free, healthy regions of the Far West from the blot of slavery and the sterility that attends its footsteps wherever it treads? There are 347,000 slave-owners in the United States, they hold nearly four millions of slaves—there are six millions of free white population in the Southern States who own no slaves and there are twenty millions of free white population at the North, [allowing for the increase since the last census.] Are the interests of these twenty-six millions of people in the vast regions of the West to be blasted, to administer to the pride, to the ambition, to the false views of interest in which the 347,000 slaveowners would indulge themselves? In their arrogance, they stigmatize as Black Republicans those who would make a constellation of free, bright Republics, constituted of the white race alone—untarnished by a slave of any color—their history and their laws unblemished by that word. Are they called black because they would redeem their white brethren of the South, by reserving to them a refuge from the thralldom imposed on them by negro slavery there, and which makes the master, the oppressor of all beneath him of whatever complexion? Are they called black because they would resist the slave-owner with his sword, in his attempts to expel from their homes the sons of the free states who have already cast their lots in the new lands to which their fathers taught them to look forward as their inheritance, under a compromise of more than thirty years standing?

This derogatory epithet is inappropriately applied to those who labor to build up free states composed of white men, to transfer the odium of the *black institution* from those who cling to it, as a part of their republican system. It is not proposed to touch the subject of slavery in the states, where it exists, but to shut the door upon it, and exclude it from territories to which its approach has been forbidden.

The attempt will be made to persuade those who would identify themselves with this cause, that there is no necessity to make a sacrifice of minor differences to make Kansas a free state—that the proclamation of the President has put down all danger of invasions—that Gen. Atchison and his banditti and armed allies from the South, have given up all idea of forcible interference—that they mean to acquiesce in the peaceable settlement of the question in favor of that section which has shown that it can furnish the greatest number of emigrants, and this pacific attitude is to be held until after the Presidential election.

If the nullifiers of the South shall then triumph in the election of a President nominated by them at Cincinnati, the usurpation established by Atchison will be found in full activity—its laws introducing slavery into the territory, and protecting it from reversal at the ballot-box, by the disfranchisement of the settlers by fast-oaths, will be enforced, and a constitution, framed by defeating the suffrages of the free-state settlers by disabilities, will be adopted, and the whole proceeding will be sustained by the military force of the United States, upon the principles and under the authority of the President's proclamation.

Here we might close our Circular, but may we not trespass upon the patience of those we address by exposing the workings of the institution which those who arrogate to themselves the character of democrats are laboring to impose upon our virgin territories, and upon the principle asserted by them, that it is a National Institution. The movement to open the free territories to slavery, by repealing the compacts upon the subject, began with the nullifiers of South Carolina. We will begin with that State, to make an exhibition of the sort of government it will enforce in the West, from its results in the South.



Popular sovereignty in South Carolina thus exhibits itself. Six districts in that State in the rice and long staple cotton region, where the slave population is most dense, containing a population of 49,503 whites, elect a majority of the Senate, leaving in a minority those representing 209,084 whites in the rest of the State. In eleven districts 77,939 whites elect 28 senators and 64 representatives, while 18 districts, having 181,145 whites, are represented by 17 senators and 60 representatives. Thus, less than one-third of the free population in the negro quarter region have the supreme control of the State. The Legislature elected by this third, appoints the judiciary—from the Supreme bench to the common justices of the peace; elects senators in Congress and the electors of President and Vice-President of the United States, for the people are not allowed to vote at all for the electors of the President and Vice-President of the United States—this being done by the rotten borough legislature, in defiance of the spirit of the Constitution and the interpretation of every other State.

The Governor of the State is also elected by this body, which represents a minority of the State—and negroes and land exclusively—for no man is eligible to it unless he has real estate to the value of \$700, clear of all debt, or five hundred acres of land and ten negroes. Nor can this state of things be changed unless two-thirds of this land and negro qualified body consent to the alteration of the Constitution—a thing never to be expected.\*

\* The apportionment of representation, showing the rotten-borough system of South Carolina, which, in effect, makes the masters of slaves masters of the State, exercising the whole sovereign authority through the Legislature constituted by them, is taken from a publication in the *South Carolinian*, Columbia, S. C. It was republished in Washington city in 1849, soon after it appeared in South Carolina. The next apportionment does not take place until 1859, under the census of 1850, when the disproportion will be increased; inasmuch as the white population, in ten years preceding the last census, increased not quite 6 per cent., whereas the slaves increased nearly 13 per cent.—the slaves increasing three times as fast as the whites; and as the rate of apportionment in South Carolina is to favor the masters who wield the legislative power, and is to give representation in greater proportion to the districts in which slavery most predominates, it is not improbable that the inequality already existing, will, in 1859, be increased according to the ratio of the increase of the slaves over the poor whites.

This supposition is based upon the idea that the policy which has heretofore controlled will be continued. And as the slaveholders of South Carolina, amounting only to 25,536, have the absolute legislative power in their hand, and dispose of the destinies of the 274,563 whites—of the 334,984 slaves, and the 8,960 free mulattoes and blacks at pleasure—they will not fail to make the representative apportionment such as will render their sway more secure, and put out of hope all who may dream of reform.

The following extracts from the Constitution of South Carolina, as to the qualifications of all who are permitted to hold a place in the Government, proves that its soul is slavery. It will be observed, that "a settled freehold estate and ten negroes" is the starting point, and the lowest degree of qualification required. This is put upon a par by the Constitution with a qualification of one hundred and fifty pounds of real estate clear of debt. From this, the scale of qualification rises with the grade of offices, until it reaches fifteen hundred pounds of real estate clear of debt. According to the data of the Constitution, which makes ten negroes and a freehold equivalent to unincumbered real estate of the value of one hundred and fifty pounds, and for most part real estate, in plantations, is only valuable in proportion to the slaves that work it, a man who has the qualifications of fifteen hundred pounds, will, on the data of the Constitution, probably own one hundred negroes.

Extracts from Constitution of South Carolina: "By article 1, section 6, of the Constitution, it is provided, in reference to members of the House:

"If a resident in the election district, he shall not be eligible to a seat in the House of Representatives, unless he be legally seized and possessed, in his own right, of a settled freehold estate and ten negroes, or of a real estate of the value of an hundred and fifty pounds sterling, clear of debt. If a non-resident, he shall be legally seized and possessed of a settled freehold estate therein, of the value of five hundred pounds sterling, clear of debt."

By article , section 8, it is provided, in reference to Senators:

"If a resident in the election district, he shall not be eligible unless he be legally seized and possessed in his own right of a settled freehold estate of the value of three hundred pounds sterling, clear of debt. If a non-resident in the election district, he shall not be eligible unless he be seized and possessed in his own right of a settled freehold estate in the said district, of the value of one thousand pounds sterling, clear of debt."

By article 2d, section 2d, it is provided that no person shall be eligible as Governor, unless he "hath resided within the State, and been a citizen therein ten years, and unless he be seized and possessed of a settled estate within the same, in his own right, of the value of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, clear of debt."

By article 2, section 3, the same qualifications are prescribed for the Lieutenant-Governor as for the Governor.

By Amendments of the Constitution ratified on the 17th of December, 1808, the basis of representatives in the House and Senate was fixed, and has not been changed since.

The House consists of one hundred and twenty-four members, sixty-two apportioned in the several districts according to their number of white inhabitants, and sixty-two apportioned among the several districts, according to "the amount of taxes raised by the Legislature, whether direct or indirect, or of whatever species, paid in each, deducting therefrom all taxes paid on account of property held in any other district, and adding thereto all taxes elsewhere paid on account of property held in such district."

The first apportionment was made in 1809, and a re-apportionment on the same principle is made every ten years.

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In Virginia and Maryland, the system of minority government, to give the control to the slave section over the greater white population in other portions of the states prevails, but in a less degree; but in all the slave States, whether contrived by constitutional provision or not, the result is, that the slaveholding class is sovereign throughout the South.

It results from the concert produced amongst the masters, by their common interest in an institution, which can only stand by force of artificial means. The slaves themselves and the non-slaveholders are, as individuals, naturally against it; this makes it necessary that the slaveowners should become a phalanx—an educated, disciplined army, to sustain by political intrigue and united force all attacks upon it.

There is one all-absorbing influence among its enemies to combine adversaries in opposition. The consequence is, that the 347,000 masters, forever animated by the same instinct, can always vanquish partial and desultory opposition, as standing armies in absolute governments keep millions of people in subjugation. The monopoly which near four millions of black men give to the united authority which commands them, makes it impossible that any single-handed competitor in the field of labor can, in cultivating the productions of the soil, enter the market with the staples of the South on equal footing with men who wield the force of ten, twenty and thirty and hundreds of slaves in companies. The owners of slaves command the markets—they put down individual competitors—they buy out the little plantations which in the earlier settlements surround them, and in the end, the rich lands all become the domains of rich planters. Hence we see in the older Southern States the poorer classes are either tenants at will, or, banished to the poor land of the hills, take to the life of idlers, hunters or fishermen; or, at best, the more industrious among them become day-laborers, living from hand to mouth—in a word, they are stripped by the oligarchy of slaveowners who command their wages, their tenements, and of course everything. The class who hold a monopoly of the soil can command everything. "He takes my life, who takes the means whereby I live." Hence, in the South the monopolists of the land and black labor of the country, although numbering but 347,000 out of a population of six millions, in virtue of their power over near four millions of slaves, are absolute in all the State governments. They are the governors, the legislators, the judges, justices, sheriffs—they are all in all.

The power which combined action gives to the slaveholding class over the whole South, is wielded with equal effect, to obtain control over the North. The machine it moves there is on a large scale, and the instrumentality of its action, visible to the least discerning eye. Every Northern aspirant for the Presidency may be looked upon as a power in the hands of the South, to move the machine of the federal government according to its will. We instance the experiment before our eyes. Mr. Pierce is a candidate for re-election to the Presidency; Mr. Douglass, Mr. Cass, Mr. Buchanan, are hopeful rivals; each have their partizans in the different sections of the North, some forty or fifty thousands office-holders and dependents on executive favor, rely upon one or the other of these, to make them secure in their posts. It is known to all these people, that not one of the rivals can command a majority of the Northern vote against the other; nor, indeed, against an opponent of any other party. For either of them, the votes of the South decides the question of nomination; and then the possibility of election depends absolutely upon a united southern support. The southern-

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In reference to the Senate, it is provided as follows:

"The Senate shall be composed of one member from each election district, as now established for the election of members of the House of Representatives, except the districts formed by the parishes of St. Philip and St. Michael, to which shall be allowed two Senators, as heretofore."

This makes the Senate a representation neither of numbers or property, but of territories.

slaveholders, therefore, have the fate of all these seekers of the Presidency, of the so-called democratic party, entirely in their hands.

And here we find in what consists that which is now vaunted to be the Democratic Party *par excellence*. It is composed of the officeholders under the present Administration, headed by those chiefs who are looked to to continue them in office, through the united vote of the South, and the chance vote of some northern State, obtained by plurality—the result of the division of their opponents, growing out of personal preferences or party dissensions. The democratic party which the Administration calls its own, has no basis but in the oligarchy of the South—we might well call it the BLACK OLIGARCHY, returning to it the appellation which it is so willing to give to others, because it most appropriately belongs to itself. The leaders of this party in the North have proved themselves entirely worthy of its confidence by abandoning every principle of democracy once their boast. They have abandoned the principles of the fathers of the Republic, who considered it as the first attribute of the new order of things established by the revolution, that it would arrest the spread of slavery throughout the continent. It did lead to its immediate extinction in many of the States, and the first act under the Constitution was to exclude it from the whole territory of the Union. The democratic leaders of the new order, at the bidding of the Southern nullifiers—have broken all the compacts and compromises designed to establish free republics in the territories from which slavery was excluded. In doing this, they have put under foot the representative principle—defied the will of their immediate constituents, on receiving instructions to repeal their acts, have refused to obey; and in this have given the most striking example of an utter abandonment of the cardinal doctrine of the democracy. The spread of liberty, not slavery, is its distinctive principle.

They have shown that the will of 347,000 slaveowners in the South are more to them than the twenty millions of freemen in the North. The leaders of this spurious democracy are but the satraps of Southern masters.

The fate which awaits a people afflicted with a democracy which grows up under the government of slaveowners, may be seen in the testimony which we give in the words of the most distinguished men of that party, which we find collated in a pamphlet by Mr. Weston.

Mr. Tarver, of Missouri, in a paper on "Domestic Manufactures in the South and West," published in 1847, says:

"The free population of the South may be divided into two classes—the slaveholder and the non-slaveholder. I am not aware that the relative numbers of these two classes have ever been ascertained in any of the States, but I am satisfied that the non-slaveholders far outnumber the slaveholders—perhaps by three to one. In the more southern portion of this region the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means, and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation; and the more fertile soil being in the possession of the slaveholder, must ever remain out of the power of those who have none.

"This state of things is a great drawback, and bears heavily upon and depresses the moral energies of the poorer classes. \* \* \* \* The acquisition of a respectable position in the scale of wealth appears so difficult, that they decline the hopeless pursuit, and many of them settle down into habits of idleness, and become the almost passive subjects of all its consequences. And I lament to say that I have observed of late years that an evident deterioration is taking place in this part of the population, the younger portion of it being less educated, less industrious, and, in every point of view, less respectable than their ancestors."

In the January number, 1850, of DeBow's Review, in an article on "Manufactures in South Carolina," we have an exhibition of the fears entertained of bringing together masses of non-slaveholding Southern white population even for manufacturing purposes.

"So long as these poor but industrious people could see no mode of living except by a degrading operation of work with the negro upon the plantation, they were content to endure life in its most discouraging forms, satisfied they were *above* the slave, though faring often worse than he. But the progress of the world is "onward," and though in some sections it is slow, still it is "*onward*," and the great mass of our poor white population begin to understand that they have rights, and that they, too, are entitled to some of the sympathy which falls upon the suffering. They are fast learning that there is an almost infinite world of industry opening before them, by which they can elevate themselves and their families from wretchedness and ignorance, to competence and intelligence. *It is this great upheaving of our masses that we have to fear, so far as our institutions are concerned.*"

Wm. Gregg, Esq., in an address before the South Carolina Institute in 1851, upon manufactures, remarks :

"From the best estimates that I have been able to make, I put down the white people who ought to work, and who do not, or who are so employed as to be wholly unproductive to the state, at one hundred and twenty-five thousand. \* \* \* \* By this it appears that but one-fifth of the present poor whites of our state would be necessary to operate 1,000,000 spindles. \* \* \* \* The appropriation annually made by our legislature for our school fund, every one must be aware, so far as the country is concerned, has been little better than a waste of money. \* \* \* \* While we are aware that the northern and eastern states find no difficulty in educating their poor, we are ready to despair of success in the matter, for even penal laws against the neglect of education would fail to bring many of our country people to send their children to school. \* \* \* \*

"I have long been under the impression, and every day's experience has strengthened my convictions, that the evils exist in the wholly neglected condition of this class of persons. Any man who is an observer of things could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence, is employed in directing slave labor; and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an existence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure. These people must be brought into daily contact with the rich and intelligent—they must be stimulated to mental action, and taught to appreciate education and the comforts of civilized life; and this, we believe, may be effected only by the introduction of manufactures. \* \* \* \* My experience at Graniteville has satisfied me, that unless our poor people can be brought together in villages, and some means of employment afforded them, it will be an utterly hopeless effort to undertake to educate them." \* \* \*

Here is the testimony of Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, the great leader of the nullifying party, now assuming the title of democracy. We extract it from an address before the South Carolina Institute, in 1850. He is speaking of that class of people, estimated by Wm. Gregg, Esq., of South Carolina, in his address before the South Carolina Institute 1851, to be 125,000—one-half of the white population of the State :

"They obtained a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often by what is in its effects far worse—trading with slaves, and seducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Hon. J. H. Lumpkin, of Georgia, speaking, in 1852, upon the Industrial Regeneration of the South, says :

"It is objected that these manufacturing establishments will become the hot-beds of crime. \* \* \* \* But I am by no means ready to concede that our poor, degraded, half-fed, half-clothed, and ignorant population—without Sabbath Schools or any other kind of instruction, mental or moral, or without any just appreciation of character—will be injured by giving them employment, which will bring them under the oversight of employers, who will inspire them with self-respect, by taking an interest in their welfare.

We close our quotations by an extract from an address delivered a few weeks since by the Hon. C. C. Clay, Jr., of Alabama :

"I can show you, with sorrow, in the older portions of Alabama, and in my native county of Madison, the sad memorials of the artless and exhausting culture of cotton. Our

small planters, after taking the cream off their lands, unable to restore them by rest, manures, or otherwise, are going further West and South, in search of other virgin lands, which they may and will despoil and impoverish in like manner. Our wealthier planters, with greater means and no more skill, are buying out their poorer neighbors, extending their plantations, and adding to their slave force. The wealthy few, who are able to live on smaller profits, and to give their blasted fields some rest, are thus pushing off the many who are merely independent. Of the \$20,000,000 annually realized from the sales of the cotton crop of Alabama, nearly all, not expended in supporting the producers, is re-invested in land and negroes.

"Thus the white population has decreased and the slave increased almost *pari passu* in several counties of our State. In 1825, Madison county cast about 3,000 votes; now, she cannot cast exceeding 2,300. In traversing that county, one will discover numerous farm-houses, once the abode of industrious and intelligent freemen, now occupied by slaves or tenantless, deserted, and dilapidated; he will observe fields, once fertile, now unfenced, abandoned, and covered with those evil harbingers, fox-tail and broomsedge; he will see the moss growing on the mouldering walls of once thrifty villages, and will find, 'one only master grasps the whole domain,' that once furnished happy homes for a dozen white families. Indeed, a country in its infancy, where fifty years ago scarce a forest tree had been felled by the axe of the pioneer, is already exhibiting the painful signs of senility and decay, apparent in Virginia and the Carolinas."

This gentleman is distinguished as a zealot for the extension of the blessings of slavery to the free territories. The above extract from his eloquent speech is a picture drawn from the life, and exhibiting to the eye the charms of slavery, which the small freeholders of the North and West, who cultivate their farms with their own hands, well know how to appreciate from contrast.

We would not have adverted to the disfranchisement of the mass of the white population in South Carolina and other southern States, by property qualification for office and the defeat of the right of suffrage, by the rotten borough system, had we not seen with what contempt of every principle of free government the attempt is now made to carry Kansas for slavery. An usurpation, put up with force and arms by Gen. Atchison, has already established slavery in that territory, has guarded it with test oaths and pronounced the death-penalty against all who oppose it. The President of the United States is pledged by his proclamation to maintain the usurpation; and if he is re-elected, or any other nominated by the South to succeed him, the army of the United States will be employed to rivet slavery on Kansas, under the laws passed by General Atchison's followers from Missouri. The North must unite to defeat this attempt, by the election of a President who will maintain the rights of the people of the North in the territory, or a cordon of black republics will stretch from Missouri west to the Pacific. The consequence will be, that no free white republic will be permitted to arise south of the tier of slave States. The free settlers from the North on their way to Kansas, are now obliged to turn away from Missouri, to reach their destination with their property and means of defending it.

What will result from the creation of a cordon of slave States across the continent? It surrenders all south of it to slavery; and what will be the condition of the slaveless white population which must spring up in this vast region? We see in the fate of the poor free population of Mexico to "what complexion it must come at last," whenever slave monopoly has once given its owners the mastery over the soil. Slavery nominally is abolished throughout the Republic of Mexico, but exists, in fact, under the name of peonage. The owners of the soil feed and clothe those who work for them; they charge their laborers more for their supplies than they agree to pay them for wages, and the result is, that the laborer is constantly falling more and more in debt, and the law subjects him to his creditor, until he works out the indebtedness. The effect of the system is to compel a man to sell himself and his family.

And this taken, in connection with the condition of the poor white population

in the South—as shown in the passages we have taken from the address of Governor Hammond, of South Carolina, the Hon. C. C. Clay, of Alabama, and other leading Southern statesmen—explain the recent article in the *Richmond Enquirer*, the oracle of Southern interests, which elaborately argues the right of subjecting whites, as well as blacks, to slavery. Nay, it goes so far as to insist that this right of making white slaves is “inalienable.” The article thus presses this point:

“They (those holding Mr. Jefferson’s doctrine) begin to reason, by assuming slavery to be morally and religiously wrong; and the South hitherto has granted their premises, and attempted to justify negro slavery as an exception to a general rule, or, if wrong, as matter of bargain between the North and the South. *The laws of God and nature are immutable, and man cannot bargain them away.* Whilst it is far more obvious that negroes should be slaves than whites—for they are only fit for labor, not to direct—*the principle of slavery is itself right, and does not depend on difference of complexion.*”

Under this doctrine, it follows that here a more direct enslavement of the white race may be insisted upon, than that obtained in Mexico under the contrivance of debtor vassalage. The doctrine is a positive sanction to the bondage of the white race, and asserts that “the laws of God and nature are immutable” in its support, “and man cannot bargain them away.” It is practically illustrated now in the Utah territory, where a man holds a multitude of women as slaves calling them his wives. What is there in Mr. Ritchie’s principle to prevent Brigham Young from holding ninety white men as slaves under bills of sale, as well as ninety white women under pretence of the bonds of matrimony?

Mr. Ritchie’s explanation of the Southern doctrine of slavery, together with Mr. Douglass’ act for the territories, which “leaves the people perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States,” certainly authorizes the Mormon State to come into the Union, with the Turkish system full blown, which makes slaves of all colors and wives without number. It is a sad commentary on our progress, that at the moment when the news arrives of the Sultan’s firman putting an end to the traffic in slaves in his empire—of the Czar’s steps for the liberation of the serfs in Russia, and of their actual enfranchisement in the Danubian Principalities, we should have negro slavery forced on one territory by an usurpation set up by the sword, and the right of the Mormons recognized in another, to hold a multitude of the gentler sex in servitude, under the unnatural law of a plurality of wives?

We hold that Congress is bound, by the Constitution, “to make all needful rules and regulations for the territories of the United States,” and during their pupilage within them of systems incongruous with the pure and free, the just and safe principles inaugurated by the Revolution.

E. D. MORGAN, New York,  
JOHN M. NILES, Connecticut,  
A. P. STONE, Ohio,  
JOHN Z. GOODRICH, Massachusetts,  
ABNER R. HALLOWELL, Maine,  
CHARLES DICKKEY, Michigan,  
A. J. STEVENS, Iowa,  
LAWRENCE BRAINERD, Vermont,  
WYMAN SPOONER, Wisconsin,  
E. D. WILLIAMS, Delaware,  
JAMES REDPATH, Missouri,

FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Maryland,  
DAVID WILMOT, Pennsylvania,  
WM. M. CHACE, Rhode Island,  
GEORGE RYE, Virginia,  
E. S. LELAND, Illinois,  
GEORGE G. FOGG, New Hampshire,  
CORNELIUS COLE, California,  
WILLIAM GROSE, Indiana,  
C. M. K. PAULISON, New Jersey,  
JOHN G. FEE, Kentucky,  
LEWIS CLEPHANE, Dist. of Col.,

National Committee.

Washington, March 28th, 1856.



